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Community Policing: a Review of the Evidence

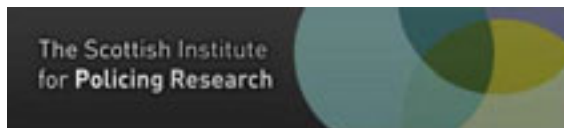
Crime and Justice

COMMUNITY POLICING: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

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Executive Summary

This report:

- Examines the history of the concept of Community Policing (CP)
- Studies some of the definitions of the concept that have been offered by leading policing scholars
- Looks at how the concept is implemented in other jurisdictions beyond Scotland
- Highlights CP's local roots in the development of policing styles to complement Scottish communities
- Reviews the international evidence on 'what works' in CP
- Makes some recommendations for a useful programme of research to develop our understanding of CP in the Scottish context.

Definition

While there are many competing definitions of CP in the literature, we can find some common ground which leads to the following components being considered core:

- Decentralisation of responsibility within the police organisation (officers on the ground have to be able to respond to public demands and make things happen locally)
- Partnership with other agencies that can take action when public demands are not for things that the police can directly help with
- Community engagement (communities need to have a real voice that can be fed into police priorities and practices where appropriate)
- Proactive and problem-solving (CP does mark a shift away from reactive fire-brigade policing – this does connect it with POP and ILP, both of which can facilitate proactive policing, but they have to be directed by community engagements, not existing, unreflective police definitions of problems)
- Philosophy (CP heralds a changed understanding of 'real' police work – one that gives *priority* to police work where officers are akin to 'peace officers' embedded in the networks of their communities rather than as reactive 'law officers' – the latter is not, however, ignored and remains an important dimension of policing)

Evidence

The evidence review is structured according to the following five ‘promises’ of CP. They are listed here, with a summary of the weight of evidence supporting them:

Increased public satisfaction with the police: Studies vary in their findings as to the level of increase in public satisfaction driven by CP, from modest improvements to significant gains. There is data from some studies to support the contention that it is visible police presence rather than the quality of resident-police interaction that drives satisfaction with the police and confidence in officer effectiveness. If CP can engage more effectively than other policing strategies with sub-criminal problems of disorder, it should be able to reap the benefits of increased public satisfaction with the police consequent upon lower levels of disorder-related fear.

Decreased fear of crime: Reductions in fear of crime, and increases in feelings of safety, range in the evaluation data from the impressive to the patchy. The robust Chicago evaluation provides strong evidence for the fear-reducing capacities of CP. As well as reducing fear of crime through directly lowering crime and disorder rates, and attending to quality of life issues, CP might reduce fear of crime simply through its ‘reassuring’ presence. While knowledge of the police’s local CP efforts has been found to be associated with lower fear of crime, often the majority of residents do not know enough about the implementation of CP in their neighbourhood to benefit from this reassurance.

Reductions in levels of crime and anti-social behaviour (or ‘disorder’): CP has been seen to reduce both crime and disorder, although there is stronger evidence for its effectiveness in reducing disorder than crime. The positive results in relation to the reduction of disorder have been suggested to be related to two strands of the CP approach in particular: foot patrol and problem solving.

Increased community engagement (increasing public ‘ownership’ of local crime problems and willingness to play a role in problem solving): Implementing a variety of strategies to encourage citizen participation in the processes of CP has been seen to be more effective than relying only on one method of engagement, for example public meetings. Although programmes have been found to have achieved positive results in relation to public confidence in the police, feelings of safety, problem solving, and police visibility, they have tended to have little effect on calls for service or ‘social capacity’, i.e. willingness of neighbours to intervene, or increased voluntary activity.

Changing police officers’ levels of engagement with and satisfaction with the job: There is a wide range of possible beneficial effects of CP on police attitudes. In the right implementation context, confidence in and support for CP practices can be high among community officers. CP has been found to be generally supported by community officers, but sometimes less supported by the rest of the force who retain a preference for motorised patrols and response-oriented methods. This evidence has been used to

support the recommendation that all officers be rotated through CP assignments, to expose them to working knowledge of the method and its benefits. This fits with calls for CP to be implemented by way of 'whole organisation' change rather than specialist units, as well as other less clear-cut findings which have suggested that while all officers support CP, those with experience of CP support it more.

Unintended or adverse consequences of CP

Some of the possible failures of CP are:

- The apparent popularity of high visibility policing with members of the public may sometimes set itself against the capacity of more visible policing to stigmatise an area as being a high-crime neighbourhood and therefore dangerous or otherwise unappealing.
- There is a risk that CP can become a vehicle for the practical implementation of local punitive attitudes against marginalised or minority groups. CP can become problematic if it moves away from a genuine problem-solving ethos towards pseudo-problem-solving through simply appeasing public appetites for enforcement that may function as unduly exclusionary.
- The supposition that freeing up officers' time to allow them to patrol communities will somehow automatically translate into more 'on the ground' community-level problem solving seems to be optimistic, without explicit co-ordination of community officers' time around core CP methods and a detailed understanding of what these methods can deliver.

Part 1: Introduction and method

In this report we provide a brief assessment of the key themes in Community Policing ('CP'), together with a review of the international 'what works' evidence base which brings some clarity to what we might reasonably expect this kind of policing to achieve in Scotland. The imperative across public sector agencies to become more focused on the needs of 'communities' has in recent years been a considerable driver of the appeal to community as 'both the site of and the solution to' a variety of contemporary problems, including crime and disorder (Hughes 2006). In the field of policing, based on apparent successes in key locations – perhaps most famously Chicago - CP has become an immensely popular concept. Yet the boundaries of the concept remain fuzzy, and many authors from many different locations have commented on the tendency for a wide variety of policing activities to have been observed to take place under the auspices of CP.

As Scotland becomes more explicitly community-focussed in its policy discourse, and as various agencies including the police have expressed interest in promoting CP as a core strategy to engage with problems of crime and disorder, it seems timely to conduct a review of the evidence supporting CP in order to inform the debate.

We begin this report with a review of the development of the concept of CP, and of the main definitions that have been offered of the core components of CP. Having established an understanding of the conceptual development of CP and assessed some of the key definitions, we then open out to briefly consider CP in comparative perspective. We use this comparative view as a context against which to consider the local history of CP in police practice in Scotland. We conclude from a scan of contemporary manifestations of CP in Scotland that – like many other jurisdictions - we have a patchwork approach to the adoption of the concept which would benefit from some co-ordination around core understandings of the component practices involved in CP, and an explicit consolidation of the evidence of 'what works'. This report is intended to be a useful reference point in both of these regards.

Next, therefore, we report our review of the literature on what works in CP. This took the form of a thematic review. From an initial core of key evaluation studies known to the authors, we developed a framework identifying the key questions to ask of any CP evaluation. This gave rise to five thematic questions:

- Does CP increase public confidence in/satisfaction with the police?
- Does CP reduce fear of crime?
- Does CP reduce crime and disorder?

- Does CP increase levels of community engagement in policing (including ‘activating’ or ‘empowering’ communities)?
- Does CP improve police officers’ attitudes (such as job satisfaction) and/or behaviour?

We then interrogated the CP literature with respect to these five themes. That literature is vast and our enquiry was therefore limited in some respects. We began by defining the following database search terms:

- Community policing
- Neighbourhood policing
- Reassurance policing
- Chicago policing

The Scottish Government Information Management Unit searched three major databases¹ for publications in which these terms appeared in the title or abstract. Searches were limited to the last ten years, and to publications in English. This returned approximately 420 journal articles, book chapters, and research reports. We reviewed the titles and abstracts of these and included relevant findings in our review, sourcing the full articles where necessary.

This database search was supplemented by a snowball approach to the CP research literature the authors were already aware of – beginning with our core studies we followed the leads provided by references to other key CP studies, then did likewise with those, and so on.

We will undoubtedly therefore not have included all of the relevant literature. The other main limitation of the present research is that we have not adopted systematic review methods such as meta-analysis, nor have we applied a quality review procedure to allowing research findings into our report, as one would in a systematic review or a rapid evidence assessment. While there will therefore be varying levels of methodological rigour supporting the evidence we draw on here depending on the approach taken by the researchers in carrying out their studies and reporting their findings, the thematic approach is in some respects systematic in itself. The evidence is reviewed for commonalities in the findings which come together to inform a core narrative about the benefits and challenges of CP – much of the evidence we have found informs this thematic narrative about successes and failures in CP in a variety of complementary ways. While there are different levels of methodological rigour in the evidence base, the themes which emerge are supported by enough studies to give us confidence in their relevance and accuracy.

¹ IDOX, Criminal Justice Abstracts, and National Criminal Justice Reference Service Abstracts.

Part 2: The historical development of the concept of community policing

The concept of CP has, on the one hand, proved to be popular and widely used - in the sense that it has been characterised as the 'new orthodoxy' (Eck and Rosenbaum 1994: 3) and 'preferred policing style' (Williamson 2005: 153) amongst senior police officials and leaders all around the world (even if its status with rank and file officers has remained less certain - Reiner 2000: 75). On the other hand, CP has also long been recognised as an ambiguous term, and one that has become used in such general ways (referring to almost anything that could feasibly have a bearing on police-public relations) as to be largely meaningless (Bayley 1994: 104; Manning 1984: 211; Tilley 2008: 376-377).

This part of the review will identify the roots of this successful 'orthodoxy' by examining the historical development of the concept of CP and the different, and sometimes overlapping, explanations that have been put forward for its emergence and subsequent popularity. This discussion will serve to illustrate some of the ambiguity that lies at the heart of CP. Part 3 aims to identify and outline some of the most influential scholarly definitions of CP, the various iterations of it (such as 'reassurance' and 'neighbourhood' policing), and related but by no means identical models of policing (problem-orientated policing and intelligence-led policing) that have also shaped debates about policing and the role of the public police over the last thirty years or so. The key point to be extracted from this latter discussion is that although the conceptual landscape of CP is complex and cluttered, which adds to its ambiguity, a consistent set of what might be viewed as 'generally accepted dimensions' of CP can be drawn from the literature. Part 3 will conclude by summarising the generally accepted dimensions of CP.

The historical development and roots of CP will be examined here by identifying some of the main ways in which the emergence of CP is explained or characterised in much of the literature (for broader overviews of the historical development of policing and the role of the police, which are highly relevant to, but which also go far beyond the development of CP specifically, see: Emsley 1996, 2002, 2008; Newburn 2008; Rawlings 2002, 2008; Reiner 2000: chapters 1 and 2). The five key explanations/characterisations of the development of CP identified here are as follows:

1. CP as a response to specific crisis events involving the police
2. CP as a response to general crises in police legitimacy and effectiveness
3. CP as a response to changes in the nature of 'community'
4. CP as a return to 'traditional' policing
5. CP as rhetoric and CP as practice

1. CP as a response to specific crisis events involving the police

The emergence, development and rising salience of CP over the last thirty years has been understood by some commentators as being related to its use and value as a response to specific crisis events. Wesley Skogan cites the Rodney King beating at the hands of the LAPD as being a key moment in the history of CP in the US (Skogan 2006: 11). Similarly, Reiner notes the importance of the race riots that flared up around several cities in England in the early 1980s (most famously in Brixton), and the subsequent inquiry into the causes of those riots by Lord Scarman, to the development of CP as guiding philosophy amongst police leaders in the UK (Reiner 2000: 75; Tilley 2008: 373). These commentators are not arguing that these crisis events 'created' the concept of CP. There is evidence of these ideas pre-dating these crisis events in the US (Manning 1984; Sherman and Milton 1973), and perhaps even more explicitly in the UK where there has been a longer tradition of the police being seen as part of the community (Alderson 1979; Banton 1964; Cain 1973; Reiner 2000; Schaffer 1980; Donnelly 2008; Donnelly and Scott 2005). John Alderson, the former Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall, and, according to Tilley (2008: 376), key inspiration behind what would become known as CP in the UK, was already publishing and promoting his ideas (see Alderson, 1979), and also gave evidence to the Scarman Committee. What is argued, however, is that these specific crises were important in the history of CP because the ideas underpinning it were lent currency by crises which were emblematic of deeper erosions in police-public relations (particularly, but not exclusively, amongst ethnic minority groups – see Smith 1997, 2005) that had taken place in the decades following the Second World War (see point 3, below). These specific crises were important in raising the status of CP as a possible means of improving community relations (see point 3 below), or at least as a means through which it could be claimed that something was being done (see point 5, below).

2. CP as a response to general crises in police legitimacy and effectiveness

The rise of CP in the latter half of the 20th century is, for some commentators, explainable in terms of the wider crisis of legitimacy and effectiveness facing the police in the UK (Reiner 2000; Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Smith 2007; Newburn 2008). There are three interrelated points to be made here. Firstly, ever rising post-war crime rates and the 'nothing works' critique of rehabilitation, raised serious questions about whether the modern criminal justice state, dominated by police, courts and prisons, was effective in controlling the crime problem (Garland 1996, 2001; Martinson 1974). The efficacy of reactive, legalistic criminal justice was, in general, being called into question. Secondly, in the same period social scientific studies of policing were directly calling into question the effectiveness, albeit sometimes by quite crude 'crime control' criteria, of much-valued police strategies, from visible patrol to fast response times (see Reiner 2000: chapter 4; Bayley 1998; Sherman 1992). A particular concern that was emerging was

that attempts to 'professionalise' policing through an emphasis on fast, responsive, 'fire brigade' models of policing (Unit Beat Policing in the UK) had not only proved to be of limited effectiveness in terms of crime control, they also had the effect of drawing officers further away from the communities they served (Lea and Young 1993; Morgan and Newburn 1997) – because in such a model of policing, officers tended to be taken off foot patrol in order to be placed in squad cars where their community contact would be limited to the crisis points to which they were responding. CP thus gathered status as a potentially more effective model of policing that also involved police officers more directly with members of their community – both of which were argued to be ways of improving police legitimacy and public relations (see Smith 2007 for a contrary view to this).

3. CP as a response to changes in the nature of 'community'

Another explanation of the rise in popularity of CP relates to how wider changes in the nature of 'community' itself makes such an approach to policing necessary. Although communities have never been homogeneous, and the police have long had very different relations with different constituencies in the community (the 'policed' and the 'protected' – see Shearing 1992; Reiner 2000), it is nonetheless argued in the literature that the police in the UK were successful in establishing particularly high levels of legitimacy with the public through the course of the 20th century, in part, because of broadly held consensus about the value of the police amongst the public (Reith 1956; Reiner 2000; Rawlings 2002; Emsley 2002, 2008). However, following the second world war it is argued that communities have become much more individualist and fragmented along numerous lines – socio-economic lines, race and ethnicity, sexuality, political and ethical values and interests etc – making it much more difficult for the police to rely on broad public support (Reiner 1992b; Bauman 2001). More diverse communities create more complex, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory, public expectations for the police to deal with (Smith 2007; Reiner 1992b). CP is one possible means of engaging with more diverse communities in order to secure legitimacy amongst them.

4. CP as a return to 'traditional' policing

CP is sometimes hailed as a return to more 'traditional' policing, either of the 'golden age' of the 1950s, or of the style of preventative policing envisaged by the architects of the modern police in the 19th century (Sir Robert Peel being the most renowned). Manning (1984: 207-8) warns against the nostalgia of bygone ages, noting that the evidence of a rose-tinted past is not always to be found (for other critiques of the 'golden era' of policing and its mythology see: Reiner, 2000; Loader and Mulcahy 2003). Tilley also notes that the level of proactive community engagement envisaged in much contemporary CP goes rather beyond what Peel had in mind (2008: 374). The claim that CP is simply a return to 'traditional' policing can thus be worrisome as it rings of nostalgia, without any evidence of a 'better' past, and how that better past might have

been produced. Such a claim is often found where there is ambiguity about what CP should entail in practice and where it can thus be argued that it is nothing new, or that it is something that has always been done anyway (a problem in Scotland where CP is often assumed to be the driving philosophy of the police but where there has recently been found to be little clarity or agreement about what that means: HMIC 2004; Scottish Parliament Justice Committee 2008, and see also the discussion of CP as rhetoric, below). However, the claim that CP marks a return to more 'traditional' forms of policing is worthy of some consideration. For example, in *The Policeman in the Community* (described by Reiner as the "starting point" of serious police research in the UK: 1992a: 439) Banton argued that the police officer as 'peace officer' drew their authority and capacity for social control from the wider web of informal and communal controls in which they were enmeshed (1964: 6-7). He associated the peace officer with the patrolman, not the 'law officers' in specialist investigation and enforcement departments, and argued that the peace officer working within the 'moral consensus' of the community was the 'ideal' police officer. This chimes with contemporary definitions of CP (see below). Related to this, Banton's recognition that 'the police are only one among many agencies of social control' (1964: 1) is also a reminder that it is not new to think of the police as working in (to use contemporary parlance) 'partnership' with other public, private and communal agencies. Many contemporary scholars are drawing attention to the fact that CP and things like situational crime prevention, because they tend to draw attention to the broad range of actors beyond the public police service who nonetheless contribute to 'policing', do mark something of a return to 'older' forms of policing (see Colquhoun 1797), including ones that predate the birth of the modern public police service (Crawford 2008; Emsley 2008; Zedner 2006; Garland 2000).

5. CP as rhetoric and CP as practice

Some commentators have argued that CP has evolved into a popular and powerful concept precisely because of its ambiguity (McLaughlin 1994, 2007; Greene and Mastrofski 1988). Because CP can potentially 'mean all things to all people' (Kelling and Coles 1996: 158) and, most importantly, because 'it wraps the police in the powerful and unquestionably good images of community, cooperation, and crime prevention', CP acts merely to gloss over the fundamental role of the police (the exercise of the legitimate use of force – Bittner 1970) which liberal society finds uncomfortable (Klockars 1988: 257-8; also reprinted in Newburn 2005: 457-8). Perhaps one of the most damning expressions of the view that CP is rhetoric comes from McLaughlin – a view partly shaped by his study of community involvement and police accountability in Manchester under controversial Chief Constable John Anderton in the 1980s (1994):

Community policing was defined as part of a 'totalising policing' initiative geared towards: persuading people to allow a seemingly benign police presence back into their communities; gathering community information on extremists and

trouble makers; and co-opting other social agencies into the policing function because the police had lost their legitimacy (McLaughlin 2007: 66).

However, in contrast to this view CP also became associated with a specific set of policing practices and philosophies and some scholars did actively encourage thinking about CP in practical and operational terms, rather than vague generic ones (Alderson 1979; Skolnick and Bayley 1988; Bayley 1994; Skogan and Hartnett 1997; Skogan 2006). The following practices, initiatives and organizational reconfigurations are now commonly associated with CP (this list is not exhaustive):

- visible foot patrol
- public/neighbourhood meetings and liaison
- partnership working
- establishing local substations
- public satisfaction surveys
- neighbourhood watch coordination
- youth work

In developing thinking about CP as a practice it is necessary to move the review on to the many definitions of it (and related models of policing) in order to document and clarify what is, and what is not, understood as CP in the literature. This will be the focus of Part 3 that will, following a review of some of the most influential definitions of CP, aim to identify and summarise the consistent and common features of these definitions in order to at least begin the process of fleshing out what might reasonably be viewed as 'generally agreed dimensions of CP'.

Part 3: Defining community policing

Community policing stresses policing with and for the community rather than policing of the community. It aspires to improve the quality of life in communities. In improving the quality of life it aims to solve community problems alongside the community and as defined by the community. Beyond this it has, however, proven difficult to pin down what specifically is involved in implementing community policing. On that there is broad agreement among scholars and many police officers (Tilley 2008: 376-377).

Although the aim of this part of the review is to identify and outline some generally agreed dimensions of CP it does need to be understood from the outset that this task is a difficult one and that it will not be possible to produce a 'final' definition of CP that is beyond contestation. This is clear from the above quote from Tilley (see also Johnston 2005) and is also noted by Williamson who humorously described attempts to define and clarify the concept of CP as being 'rather like trying to catch hold of the soap in the bath' (Williamson 2005). This does not, however, mean that a sufficiently clear definition of CP that can inform operational policing practice cannot be provided (Skolnick and Bayley 1988; Skogan 2006).

There are a daunting number of definitions of CP available in the literature. The ones outlined here have been selected because they have been historically significant, have been made by particularly respected contributors to the debate, have informed substantial programmes of CP work, or are interesting because they say something distinctive about CP. Once this explicitly selective set of definitions of CP has been outlined the section will move on to briefly outline some features of some related models of policing (reassurance policing, neighbourhood policing, problem-orientated policing and intelligence-led policing), the understanding of which will help to sharpen any definition of the generally accepted dimensions of CP.

Alderson (1979): Tilley identifies John Alderson's work as being the most influential early articulation of a CP perspective in the UK (2008: 376 and 387). Alderson was an outspoken former Chief Constable whose vision of police reform extended beyond the desire to provide a definition of CP. Alderson was arguing that fundamental changes in the social fabric, where society was becoming increasingly 'free, permissive and participatory' (1979: 199; see also Reiner 1992b), would not be well served by traditional, authoritarian policing, but that policing itself would have to evolve if it was to cope with these changes in an effective and consensual way. His classic restatement of police objectives (1979: 199; reprinted in Tilley 2008: 376), with its references to 'human rights', 'the feeling of security', and the need for 'co-operative social action', for example, still sounds contemporary today. However, it is his 'community police order' outlined in Appendix 4 of *Policing Freedom* that is more appropriate to reproduce here,

given that it provides his most direct statement regarding the definition of CP. The following is quoted directly from Alderson but has been edited down to give a more succinct sense of the definition of CP being put forward:

1. Social change exerts pressures on police systems which are thereby required to adjust.
2. The impact of change on the police due to increasing democracy and the unacceptability of authoritarianism requires fundamental readjustment of the basis of policing. That basis shifts its emphasis from *reactive towards proactive styles*.
5. Community policing describes a style of day-to-day policing in residential areas in which the *public and other social agencies take part* by helping to prevent crime, and particularly juvenile delinquency, through *social as opposed to legal* action.
6. The crime patterns in communities will be *analysed, recorded and produced* in graphical visual form.
7. Using the *information as a basis for discussions with other agencies*, joint conferences should be arranged. Other agencies include teachers, social workers, probation officers, housing, planning, youth, etc.
8. The information produced should be made the subject of local public discussion with a view to *consideration of social activity to assist the reduction of crime*. Local *consultative groups* should be formed where appropriate.
11. Responsibility for implementation of the community policing plans will fall heavily on *all* ranks. Supervisory officers will require considerable skills to sustain progress and constables will require much support.
14. *Community policing will represent the first-tier policing strategy*. It should result in a closer co-operation between police and public in the general control of crime and disorder. Second-tier policing, by incident cars, task forces and the like, is the essential back-up to community policing in dealing with emergencies of one kind or another. *Third-tier policing in the detection of crime should receive a greater input of community help flowing from the first-tier community policing* (See Alderson 1979: 239-240 for the full, unedited version; emphasis added.)

Alderson's description of CP is remarkably full and contemporary. It gives emphasis to proactive policing (2), community cooperation and participation between the police and other partner agencies (5, 7 and 8), and the need for CP to be a core policing strategy that applies to the whole force rather than a specialist division (11 and 14). It also makes reference to the use of information gathering and analysis (6, 7 and 8) that, as will be shown below, is characteristic of intelligence-led policing (Tilley 2008: 383-386),

thus illustrating from the outset the potential for there to be overlap between these models of policing.

Skogan (2006; Skogan and Hartnett 1997): Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) is probably the best-known and the most rigorously researched CP strategy in the world. Skogan's most recent book documents 13 years of extensive research on the operation and impact of CAPS (Skogan, 2006). Skogan is careful not to define CP in terms of its outcomes or a highly specific set of strategies, instead preferring to emphasise that it is more about changing organizational cultures and decision making processes within the police:

Community policing is not a set of specific projects; rather, it involves changing decision-making processes and creating new cultures within police departments. It is an organisational strategy that leaves setting priorities and the means of achieving them largely to residents and the police who serve in their neighbourhoods. Community policing is a process rather than a product. (Skogan 2006: 5)

Skogan does, however, identify three 'core strategic components' of CP that are central to understanding it: administrative decentralization, community engagement and problem-solving (Skogan 2006: 5-12). For Skogan, *administrative decentralization* is a necessary part of making the police responsive to the actual demands of communities. Making mid-level and low-ranking officers more directly responsible for dealing with local problems and local citizens (through systems like CompStat), rather than having them being responsive to centrally set priorities and initiatives, 'allows the police to respond appropriately to problems that are important to particular communities' (Skogan 2006: 6). *Community engagement* is also important here. By community engagement Skogan means that the police 'develop partnerships with community groups to facilitate "listening" to the community and constructively sharing information' – it involves the development of 'collaborative' relationships between police and local communities (2006: 7). Finally, *problem-solving* is also a key component of Skogan's vision of CP. Problem-solving is explicitly identified as an alternative to reactive fire-brigade policing in Skogan's account (2006: 7). Problem-solving requires officers to act in a systematic way on the information they receive through community engagement; to have a longer-term view of problems and concerns raised by citizens. Interestingly, Skogan notes that taking a problem-solving approach will necessarily require police officers to draw upon the skills and expertise of other agencies who can in fact deal with the kinds of problem that are routinely raised (such as problems relating to the fabric of the neighbourhood, housing, graffiti etc., 2006: 8): embedded within his understanding of community engagement and problem-solving is, therefore, the concept of partnership.

Bayley (1994): The essence of Bayley's definition of CP, also apparent in his work with Jerome Skolnick (see Skolnick and Bayley 1988), is that for CP to move beyond rhetoric there has to be meaningful engagement between the police and the community that

actually impacts upon what the police do and how they do it: i.e. it informs operational policing. For Bayley, community engagement must go beyond perfunctory exercises where, in what is a common criticism of much community engagement work, the police inform communities what is being done to them, rather than listening to what they want. It requires the police to be responsive to the information coming from the community - adjusting their activities and priorities accordingly, and taking or coordinating appropriate action in relation to it. In short, the core dimensions of CP for Bayley are: *consultation* (with the community), *adaptation* (of the organization in response to feedback from consultation), *mobilisation* (of police resources, and those of other local agencies/partners, to make things happen), and *problem-solving* (the long-term approach to local problems) – ‘CAMPS’ (1994: 102-115).

Friedmann (1992): Friedmann’s 10 point account of CP is drawn from a comparative analysis of CP in Canada, England, Israel and the US. It is unnecessary to comment in detail on each point, save to note that emphasis has been added to some points which show particular similarity to features in the definitions already outlined. Of additional interest is Friedmann’s willingness to be explicit about the philosophical dimension of CP – that CP is underpinned by certain reasoned beliefs and values about the nature and role of policing (see also Cordner, who makes a similar argument, and Manning on the ideological dimension of CP – Cordner 2000; Manning, 1984: 207-208). He also introduces an explicitly normative dimension to CP (point 7) – arguing that the police ought to have a commitment to protect particular, vulnerable constituencies in society; although the criteria by which such groups in the community might be identified in practice raises a host of unanswered questions. For the moment it is worth noting that although political choices are inevitable in policing given that resource allocation shapes who gets policed and who gets protected, they have been emphasised in countries where the police have been implicated in State strategies to actively serve certain community interests over others, making a much more explicit normative commitment all the more important in such contexts (for example, in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina – see Brogden and Shearing 1993; Topping 2008; Aitchison 2007; and Part 3, below). Friedmann’s 10 point description of CP is as follows:

1. Community policing is a philosophy and a strategy
2. It requires *implementation by all police personnel*
3. It requires a new type of police officer, the Community Policing Officer (CPO)
4. The CPO should work with volunteers
5. It introduces a different kind of *relationship between officers and citizens*
6. It adds a *proactive* dimension to police work
7. It aims to protect the most vulnerable segments in society

8. It seeks to balance human skills with technological innovations
9. It must be *implemented and integrated force-wide*
10. It emphasises *decentralization* (1992: 28-30, emphasis added)

Sherman and Milton (1973): The final definition to be reviewed here is interesting because of its focus on operational strategies (what CP might entail in practice), but also because it actually pre-dates common usage of the term 'CP' in the US. Here Sherman and Milton are referring to a series of 'team policing' experiments carried out in 7 American cities in the early 1970s (see also Walker 1993 on 'team policing' as an early iteration of CP). As Manning comments, the elements of 'team policing' examined by Sherman and Milton are not all 'essential' for there to be a CP programme in existence – taken together they are, rather, 'exemplary' of the kinds of element that could be incorporated into a CP strategy (Manning 1984: 209-210). Different CP strategies in different cities were composed of different elements. The table produced by Sherman and Milton is also of interest because it highlights the point that CP initiatives that are 'planned' are not always actually implemented or 'realised' in practice (something that will be returned to in Part 5). It is worth reproducing Sherman and Milton's table in full here.

Summary of elements

(The following summarises the elements of team policing in each city)

	Dayton	Detroit	New York	Syracuse	Holyoke	Los Angeles (Venice)	Richmond
Operational elements							
Stable geographic assignment	+	+	-	+	+	+	
Intra-team interaction	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Formal team conferences	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Police community communication	+	+	-	-	+	+	
Formal community conferences	+			-	+	+	
Community participation in police work	+	+	+		+	+	
Systematic referrals to social agencies	+	-	-	-			+
Organizational supports							
Unity of supervision	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Lower-level flexibility	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Unified delivery of services	+	-	-	+	+	+	
Combined patrol and investigative functions	+	+		+	+	+	+

Key:

- + the element was planned and realised
- the element was planned but not realised
- the element was not planned

Source: Sherman and Milton 1973: 7, reprinted in Manning 1984: 210

Before an attempt is made to draw out the generally accepted dimensions of CP from these definitions, some recent iterations of CP (reassurance and neighbourhood policing) and some alternative - but in some respects complimentary - models of policing (problem-orientated and intelligence-led) will be very briefly outlined and drawn into the discussion in order to further sharpen up the final summary of core dimensions of CP.

‘Reassurance’ and ‘neighbourhood’ policing: Much recent discussion about CP in England and Wales has been framed in terms of ‘reassurance’ and/or ‘neighbourhood’ policing. Reassurance policing reflected concerns that public anxieties about crime were continuing to rise, or were remaining stable, despite the fact that crime rates started to fall in the 1990s (Innes 2004a; Crawford 2007). It was developed into a set of practical policing strategies in the course of a National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) (see Tuffin et al. 2006; Innes 2004a). The NRPP was established in 16 sites across eight police forces and ran between October 2003 and 2005. Its structure was influenced both by Innes’ ‘signal crimes’ perspective (Innes 2004b) and Skogan’s work in Chicago, the latter fact demonstrated by it being comprised of the following familiar components:

- targeted policing activity and problem-solving to tackle crimes and disorder which matter in neighbourhoods;
- Community involvement in the process of identifying priorities and taking action to tackle them; and
- The presence of visible, accessible and locally known authority figures in neighbourhoods, in particular police officers and community support officers (Tuffin et al. 2006: xii).

The difference between the NRPP and previous iterations of CP is largely one of degree and emphasis. One point to note is that the ‘reassurance’ agenda was orientated around a very particular outcome (alleviating public anxieties) whereas CP, particularly amongst its more radical proponents, might be understood as being about a more fundamental reconfiguration of the relationship between citizen and police officer (Skogan 2006; Friedmann 1992; Alderson 1979). As such, the NRPP reflects the current influence of managerialism and the quest for ‘measurable’ outcomes – which may make it (and neighbourhood policing) an iteration of CP that will continue to have appeal (see Tilley 2008 and the discussion of intelligence-led policing below). The second point to note is closely related to this. The ‘signal crime’ perspective is understood to be a means of making CP more targeted on what really matters to members of the public (signal events are those events that contribute to feelings of anxiety and insecurity - Innes 2004b). This is, of course, not new to CP given the commitment of its key proponents to policing that is responsive to citizens’ problems - as long as they are reasonable (Bayley 1994; Skogan 2006; Skogan and Hartnett,

1997; Friedmann 1992). Neither is it new to note the importance of both 'soft' and 'hard' dimensions of policing to the development of a coherent approach to policing (although Innes' analysis of the tendency for policy to 'oscillate' between them is worthy of attention, see Innes 2005). Alderson, for example, also saw such connections but simply argued that CP (first tier policing) needed to be given *priority* over law enforcement and investigation (third tier policing) and that success in the former would in any case enhance the work of the latter (see Alderson 1979: 240). The point to note here is that through use of the National Intelligence Model (NIM) and intelligence more generally (see Tilley 2008: 398-399; and below) there is some *potential* for the NRPP to prioritise police work in the other direction - giving greater priority to police and formal definitions of problems over community definitions of those problems. Whether this is a 'good' or 'bad' thing is perhaps a matter of perspective. It might be appealing in that it focuses attention on dealing with police business in a problem-orientated and intelligence-led way (see below) but at the same time it should be understood as a watered down version of CP in terms of community involvement and engagement. A similar argument can be made in relation to neighbourhood policing.

In 2005 the Neighbourhood Policing Plan (NPP) was launched as a direct development of the NRPP (Tuffin et al. 2006: xvi; Home Office 2005). Perhaps the most interesting feature of the NPP is the recognition it gives to the 'extended policing family' that are drawn in as members of the envisaged Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPT). Police Community Support Officers, Special constables, wardens (often employed by local authorities or housing associations) and other 'authority figures' from the community will be led by full-time police officers in what is certainly an interesting development (Home Office 2005: 6-7; Johnston 2005; Hughes and Rowe 2007; Quinton and Morris 2008). However, as with the NRPP, it is arguable that NPP represents only a limited commitment to CP. Tilley notes that as NPTs 'are not construed as embodying a general philosophy of policing running through policing organizations... they represent "light" CP' (Tilley 2008: 395). Although the NPP confines CP to the specialist functions of NPTs, it does, nonetheless, reflect ongoing commitment to partnership working, proactive policing and at least some level of community engagement. In summary, both the NRPP and the NPP could be seen as representing compromises in that they draw upon some dimensions of CP but restrict the potentially more radical aspects of it (where CP becomes the priority and philosophy of the whole police organization). They do so, essentially, by inclining towards a commitment to intelligence-led policing.

Problem-orientated and intelligence-led policing: Some reference needs to be made to problem-orientated (POP) and intelligence-led (ILP) policing, as both are closely associated with developments in CP. Tilley's recent overview of the models provides a valuable introduction to the similarities and differences between them (Tilley 2008; see also Goldstein 1990; Maguire 2000; Ratcliffe 2002). POP was developed as a concept by Goldstein (1990) and has a concern with effective use of police resources as its main driver. According to proponents of POP, 'fire-brigade' policing is inefficient

because police officers keep returning to the same scene and to see the same victims when the underlying problem – domestic abuse, repeat burglary, vandalism, bored youths hanging about – has not been resolved. Analysing the nature of the problem allows the police to deal with it more comprehensively than if they just respond individually to the repeat incident calls. Taking a problem-orientated approach is almost always an aspect of fleshed-out definitions of CP, but POP itself does not require the level of community input demanded by CP. POP is generally an aspect of CP but CP is not a necessary aspect of a POP strategy.

ILP is about the collection, mapping and analysis of ‘intelligence’ to aid the efficient management and coordination of police resources (Maguire 2000; Tilley 2008). It does not question what the police role actually is (Tilley 2008: 383) but rather aims to use technology and analytical techniques to inform police practice. As noted previously, ILP, through the development of the NIM and broader commitments to performance management in the police (Hough 2007) is arguably the most influential of the three models of policing (CP, POP and ILP) – although it is not without its own implementation problems (Ratcliffe 2002) - and has undoubtedly played a role in shaping recent thinking about CP (see discussion of NRPP and NPP, above). Indeed, Tilley argues that ILP is more likely to ‘take hold’ than either POP or CP precisely because it is ultimately less challenging to the status quo for the police, even though it does offer the *potential* of some community input - albeit that which the police define as useful ‘intelligence’ (see 2008: 398-399).

‘Generally accepted dimensions’ of CP: The review has thus far shown that the definition of CP is complex and contested. The potential ambiguity over what ‘counts’ as CP is illustrated even more keenly when the concept is used in conjunction with other overlapping but alternative models of policing such as POP and ILP. Further, as will be shown in part 4, comparative analyses of CP also, according to some of the more critical commentators at least, add to the sense that the concept is ‘slippery’ and more useful rhetorically than as a meaningful guide to operational policing (Brogden and Nijhar 2005). These concerns need to be taken seriously if CP is to be made useful. That said there are discernable features of CP that are consistently agreed upon by key commentators and which may be understood as being ‘core’ to it. This does not mean that there is a single or ‘one size fits all’ definition of CP but it does suggest that it might more modestly be possible to identify and extract those features of CP that form a coherent and ‘generally accepted’ definition of it that will be of value if borne in mind when seeking to fashion new CP strategies or evaluate existing ones. The following are identified as core dimensions of CP, in the spirit of moving towards a useful definition of this type:

- Decentralisation of responsibility within the police organisation (officers on the ground have to be able to respond to public demands and make things happen locally)

- Partnership with other agencies that can take action when public demands are not for things that the police can directly help with
- Community engagement (communities need to have a real voice that can be fed into police priorities and practices where appropriate)
- Proactive and problem-solving (CP does mark a shift away from reactive fire-brigade policing – this connects it with POP and ILP, both of which can facilitate proactive policing, but action has to be directed by community engagements, not existing, unreflective police definitions of problems)
- Philosophy (CP heralds a changed understanding of ‘real’ police work – one that gives *priority* to police work where officers are akin to ‘peace officers’ embedded in the networks of their communities rather than as reactive ‘law officers’ – the latter is not, however, ignored and remains an important dimension of policing).

Part 4: Models of community policing: comparative perspectives and the Scottish experience

This section of the review will briefly introduce some comparative perspectives on CP before providing an account of CP in the Scottish context. Both discussions show that there is a substantial amount of police activity that is labelled as 'CP' but that such activity is often in need of greater focus, that developments in this area have tended to be quite piecemeal around the world, and that further research and evaluation is required to support the development of CP and its potential.

Comparative perspectives on CP

Listening to police executives in Western Europe, North America, Australia-New Zealand, and the Far East, one might conclude that community policing was already an established organising concept of police operations and that examples of it abound. The reality is that, while everyone talks about it, there is little agreement on meaning (Skolnick and Bayley 1988: 4).

CP is often portrayed as devoid of the kind of cultural impediments that characterise other policing models...CP is an emblematic international creed (Brogden and Nijhar 2005: 9).

The above quotes illustrate that CP has undoubtedly been successful in terms of its ability to stimulate discussion about policing around the world. CP is a concept that seems to 'travel' well and is something that police leaders and scholars in many different jurisdictions readily talk about as a key dimension of their work. However, the question is: to what extent are they talking about the same thing?

This short section will firstly aim to give a sense of the substantial comparative literature that now exists on CP in order to illustrate the extent to which the concept has travelled. It will then, focusing largely on Europe, demonstrate some of the difficulties inherent in making direct comparisons between models of CP in different nations - different legal and police structures, citizen-state relationships, and understandings of the very notion of 'community' mean that comparing CP in one country with that in another should be conducted with sensitivity and caution. The section will conclude by noting some of the lessons to be taken from comparative study of CP identified by Brogden and Nijhar (2005: 232-233). Their study draws on efforts to use CP in very demanding contexts (societies in transition such as Poland, and post-conflict societies such as South Africa and Northern Ireland) and so unsurprisingly gives some emphasis to the important moral and political choices that underpin policing – normative issues that may be viewed as less pressing in Scotland but which are nevertheless relevant.

The comparative literature: There is literature on CP in a remarkably diverse range of countries from around the world. It is far too rich and extensive a literature to be properly reviewed here. Brogden and Nijhar's recent book (2005) provides extensive coverage of the 'Anglo-American' model of CP, CP in the Pacific Rim (Japan, Singapore and China), CP in the EU, and CP in a variety of 'transitional' and post-conflict societies including South Africa, Poland and Northern Ireland. Friedmann's (1992) coverage is more limited (US, Canada, Israel, England) but it remains of interest and grounds the comparative analysis within a well developed understanding of the concept of CP (1992: part 1). Haberfeld and Cerrah's recent (2008) collection is focused on comparative policing more generally but is of particular interest given its preoccupation with policing and democracy and virtually all of the contributions do make direct reference to CP within this context. Wakefield and Fleming's recent *SAGE Dictionary of Policing* also provides a very helpful starting point for comparative study of CP, including contributions relating to: Australia, Canada, China, Netherlands, New Zealand, the Nordic countries, South Africa, the USA and the UK (2008: 37-47). Finally, although its coverage is less broad, Easton et al's *Reflections on Reassurance Policing in the Low Countries* (2008) provides an excellent insight to the 'transfer' of the reassurance agenda to a European context.

The difficulty of making comparisons - a cautionary note: Comparative research always needs to be carried out with sensitivity to ensure that what might look to be superficially similar is not misunderstood because of local, cultural, political or legal difference (Nelken 2007). In relation to CP Brogden and Nijhar observe that 'core assumptions' about the role and function of policing, the relationship between the police and the community, and the community's sense of individual or communal responsibility can actually be quite different between different jurisdictions (2005: 104). This basic point can be illustrated close to home with reference to CP in Europe. There is undoubtedly considerable activity throughout Europe that could claim to be CP: proximity policing in France; community forums and 'reassurance' policing in Belgium; and Stadwacht, community beat officers and local policing in the Netherlands (Brogden and Nijhar 2005: chapter 5; Easton et al. 2008; Wakefield and Fleming 2009). However, Brogden and Nijhar warn that CP is understood quite differently throughout the EU because of variations in the 'primary – historically, politically and culturally informed – definitions of the police function' (2005: 107). They identify 3 models of policing in Western Europe: Napoleonic, national and decentralised (2005: 109). Although the distinctions should not necessarily be viewed as too hard and fast (for example, the UK is decentralised in the model but has nonetheless been described by scholars as being centralised to a substantial degree in practice – see Reiner 2000; Newburn 2008) they reflect quite different ways of structuring the police and understanding their relationship with the public. For example, in systems displaying Napoleonic characteristics (France, Belgium, Italy and Portugal) the function of the police has been to 'defend the social order of the central state' and this may have led to rather more limited emphasis being

given to public and local accountability than would be expected in decentralised systems (Brogden and Nijhar 2005: 110). Such systems are often nationally - and militaristically - organised, and although this has certainly not precluded the development of CP within them, it does make the commitment to local participatory models of policing, of the style developed in Chicago, particularly difficult to envisage. In short, different understandings of the primary police function, and the different organisational structures of police that flow from that, pose distinctive challenges for the development of CP in different jurisdictions. This does not mean that comparisons cannot be extremely instructive but it does remind us that it is local traditions and structures that have to be understood for CP to be meaningful. It is to some lessons that can most certainly be drawn from comparative thinking that we now turn.

Lessons from comparative experiences of CP: Brogden and Nijhar pose 'three final conundrums' (2005: 232) that have faced scholars and policymakers wishing to use or export the concept of CP. They raise some provocative normative questions about the value judgements that inevitably underpin decisions about models of policing, whether these value judgements are explicit or not, and are for that reason reproduced in full here:

CP and the problem of inequality – who does CP serve? Police forces have invariably, sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, been designed and utilised to maintain the existing social order – economic and social inequality. This is true as much for Peel's vaunted and mythologised first Metropolitan Police with its target of the 'dangerous classes' as it is of the paramilitary police forces of transitional and failed societies.

The functions of CP – are human rights concepts compatible with questions of police effectiveness? As the South African experience especially demonstrates, is a 'rights basis approach' appropriate as in South Africa where the majority population may regard those rights as an obstacle to the control of crime? Despite the views of those such as David Bayley, insecurity may only concretely be alleviated by emphasis on police structures and practices that might often ignore individual human rights concerns in favour of collective rights.

CP as autonomous from state policing institutions – can CP be conducted by citizen groups independent of the state police? The spirit of CP implies invoking community involvement, indeed locating policing as a community matter rather than as a state function, as part of a safety security continuum in which the state police are merely one actor in that process. The evidence from a variety of developing societies is that there are many community groups – some traditional in character, some reacting to the new circumstances of the modernization process, that have the commitment to and need to conduct policing functions. The energy of these informal policing structures is critical and is in direct

response to local needs. But they are often subject to major problems of accountability (Brogden and Nijhar 2005: 232-233).

The Scottish experience of CP

Developments in CP in Scotland have, up until recently at least, been somewhat piecemeal and patchy and they have not, historically, received nearly the same amount of attention as developments south of the border. This does, however, appear to be changing, with significant interest in CP becoming apparent amongst both policymakers (ACPOS 2007; HMIC 2004; Scottish Parliament Justice Committee 2008; Scottish Government 2009) and scholars (Donnelly 2008; Donnelly and Scott 2005; Fyfe 2005). As recently as 2004 HMIC found that there was no national CP strategy in Scotland with each of the eight forces adopting their own approach (HMIC 2004). However, ACPOS then published a *Public Reassurance Strategy* (2007) that went some way to expressing a national commitment to an approach that bears some of the hallmarks of both CP and ILP. This was followed by a widespread review of CP in Scotland by The Scottish Parliament Justice Committee (published in 2008). The Committee noted that a 'one size fits all' definition of CP would not be workable given the diverse communities served by the police in Scotland, but nonetheless argued that there would be merit in having, in a broad sense, a 'commonly agreed definition of CP' (2008: 1). The Scottish Government responded to the Justice Committee's report in July 2009 by developing *The Scottish Community Policing Engagement Principles* (Scottish Government 2009). This document represents an important development in CP in Scotland because it sets out what CP ought to include, thus supporting the Justice Committee's call for definitional clarity in the Scottish context. The *Principles* identify CP as including:

- visible police presence,
- communication and consultation with the community,
- responsiveness to community needs,
- responsiveness to individual needs and to those who may be particularly vulnerable,
- accountability to the community,
- partnership working with public and private agencies, and
- a commitment to local problem-solving.

The *Principles* also seem to recognise that Police Forces require the necessary discretion to implement these principles in ways that reflect, and are sensitive to, particular local contexts. It is likely that the *Principles* will generate a significant amount of CP activity around Scotland as they urge the police and the academic community to be clearer about what they articulate as CP.

This section will briefly sketch out some of the research that exists in relation to CP in Scotland. It should be emphasised that this research pre-dates the recent interest in CP by the Justice Committee and The Scottish Government. It is worth noting that, despite the historical ambiguity of CP, there is some evidence that the kinds of thing that tend to be required for CP strategies (community involvement, partnership working, generally close relations between police and community, local police services – all of which are noted in the *Community Policing Engagement Principles*) do have a history in Scotland. However, it will also be noted that some of the concerns about impediments to implementing CP in practice that will be developed in Part 5 have already been identified within this modest literature.

Recent work by Donnelly gives emphasis to the municipal character of policing that has evolved in Scotland since the 19th century (2008; Donnelly and Scott 2005). By this he refers to the close connections between developments in the public police service and developments in local government and governance throughout this period. Although Scottish police, like their counterparts in England and Wales, have felt the pull of professionalising and centralising pressures (Walker 1999) they remain, formally at least, based upon a local, decentralised structure.

As far as specific developments in CP (as we would now understand it) are concerned there are a number of well documented examples. The work of Chief Constable David Gray in Greenock in the 1950s and 1960s is identified by a number of commentators (Schaffer 1980; Monaghan 1997; Fyfe 2005) as being forward-thinking and influential. Gray developed and promoted the Greenock juvenile liaison scheme that involved the police working closely with teachers, social workers and other responsible adults in order to work with young people deemed to be ‘at risk’ of becoming involved in delinquency (Monaghan 1997: 25). Contemporary studies suggest that this early version of partnership working (Monaghan 1997) met with some degree of success (Mack 1963). Schaffer also describes Gray’s efforts in relation to community involvement, which he seems to have interpreted quite boldly as a means to become involved in environmental improvements in impoverished neighbourhoods throughout Greenock (1980: 69-71) – something of a precursor to the Urban Regeneration movement that would later become an influence on partnership working, and on developments in crime prevention and community safety, in Scotland (Monaghan 1997; Henry 2009). Community involvement branches were established in all Scottish forces by the mid-1970s following The Scottish Office recommendation to that effect in circular 4/71 (1971). Schaffer indicates that some forces appeared to take the idea of community involvement seriously (Strathclyde police established a working group on community involvement – 1980: 48) but there was simultaneously evidence that community involvement, and issues like ‘crime prevention’ in general, continued to be viewed as marginal activities within the police (Schaffer 1980: 26). Nonetheless there continued to be drives towards preventative and partnership working throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, recommended by the Scottish Office’s 1984 circular and

nurtured through the *New Life for Urban Scotland* and *Safer Cities* programmes, both of which were designed to foster partnership working (see Carnie 1995; Henry 2009). What evidence there was indicated that this emerging 'crime prevention' work was developing upon rather ad hoc lines - but it was developing (see Valentin's *Directory of Crime Prevention in Scotland* 1995). By the late 1990s there were community safety partnerships in all 32 local authorities in Scotland, although some were more active than others, and following the Local Government (Scotland) Act 2003 there were also more formally established Community Planning Partnerships as well as a plethora of other partnership structures that had evolved throughout the 1990s onwards (see Henry 2009).

There are other developments in Scotland that are similar to those now implicated in CP elsewhere. Recent iterations of CP such as the NPP in England and Wales in particular have actively tried to draw the 'extended policing family' (agencies that engage in 'policing' but which are not the public police – which might include wardens, concierge schemes, neighbourhood watch, community groups, private security etc.) into CP (Crawford 2007; Home Office 2005; Johnston 2005). There is certainly evidence of an active 'extended policing family' in Scotland (Fyfe 2005; Donnelly 2008) and its existence might prove important to the development of CP strategies and/or their evaluation. However, even taken together these developments do not show that CP has been flourishing in Scotland. What they do show is that some of the crucial ingredients of CP have taken root in Scotland, such as community involvement, proactive and partnership-based approaches to police work, and the development of the extended policing family (see Henry 2009).

Despite such developments, practice has continued to be patchy; it will be interesting to see whether the engagement principles set out this year by The Scottish Government will indeed provide some impetus toward harmonisation in approach. There is evidence of wider resistance to CP in Scotland similar to that which exists elsewhere (and is documented in Part 4). As noted earlier, the HMIC and the Scottish Parliament Justice Inquiry reports did document current CP strategies around Scotland – such as work carried out by Community Liaison Officers in Dundee, Local Integration Officers in G Division of Lothian and Borders, and the South Lanarkshire Problem Orientated Policing Model (Scottish Parliament Justice Inquiry 2008: 173 and 177; HMIC 2004: 37) – but although much of it looked promising it was also clear that there was no common approach; exemplified by the different designations used to describe community officers (HMIC 2004: 31). The variety of approaches taken in Scotland, and the lack of proper documentation and evaluation of these approaches, has lent an ambiguity to attempts to describe CP in Scotland and might be suggestive of its relatively low status. The Scottish Government's new *Community Policing Engagement Principles* signal an attempt to take on this challenge, but there is no room for complacency. Donnelly found, only a few years ago, that 'although supportive of the concept and philosophy [of CP] ... officers do not see a role for themselves in this style of policing and indeed for many

officers community style policing is not the main attraction of a career in the police service' (Donnelly 2005: 148). If CP is to work in Scotland it will have to be properly sold to the people who will make it work and give it life – the police.

Part 5: What works in community policing? A review of the evidence

In this section we take the key benefits which have been argued to stem from a CP approach and analyse them in light of available empirical evidence. Simply put, we want to ask here whether there is evidence that CP can deliver all it promises. The various promises of CP can be summarised as:

- Increased public satisfaction with the police
- Decreased fear of crime
- Reductions in levels of crime and anti-social behaviour (or 'disorder')
- Increased community engagement (increasing public 'ownership' of local crime problems and willingness to play a role in problem solving)
- Changing police officers' levels of engagement with and satisfaction with the job.

There are several features of the concept and practice of CP which render an evaluation of the effectiveness of 'the model' difficult. The first is the question, outlined in some detail above, of what 'the model' comprises (Cordner 1999: 137). CP has not been the subject of clear, unambiguous definition, in the sense that so many definitions of its 'elements' exist that if one were to hold them all together there would be very little that CP apparently did not cover. This is especially the case if we include consideration of many of the strategies and tactics which bear a dubious relation to the core of CP philosophy, but which practitioners may have labelled CP in order to lend them credibility (Rosenbaum and Lurigio 2000). The US National Research Council is of the opinion that CP is 'simply too amorphous a concept to submit to empirical evaluation' (National Research Council Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices 2004; Lombardo and Lough 2007). Secondly, the 'successes' of CP are inherently 'softer' and therefore more difficult to measure than the successes of, for example, enforcement strategies which look to arrest rates as measures of success. Thirdly, whole-organisation change is rare, even though this is what the literature suggests is required for effective implementation of a CP strategy. To the contrary, specific 'programmes' or 'initiatives' are the usual manifestation of CP within any police force, which causes problems for evaluation of aspects of CP such as officer satisfaction or levels of police-public engagement. Rather than random allocation of officers to these CP programmes, which would allow an experimental evaluation to be undertaken, more usually there is some degree of self-selection by officers who volunteer for the role, or selection of those officers thought most suitable by their superiors. Thus, successes of CP may be more a function of who is chosen to undertake the programme than a feature of the structure of the programme itself

(Lurigio and Rosenbaum 1994). Fourthly, implementation failure is so common as to largely neutralise the capacity of researchers to say whether CP would ‘work’ if its concept(s) ever were to make a flawless transition into practice. Finally, there is little guidance within the CP literature on how its proposed benefits might be ranked. If, for example, it does not reduce crime as effectively as other modes of policing, but even in the face of this it dramatically increases public satisfaction with and/or trust in the police, how should we decide whether, and to what degree, this makes the model ‘better’ than others?

Accepting these limitations on the value of a review of the evidence, we can provide here a brief overview of the level of support empirical studies provide for the various claims CP makes to value. Overall, the key finding is that while there are various degrees of support for the proposed strands of benefit set out above, the common denominator in evaluated models of CP is some level of implementation failure (Cordner 2004). A distinction must therefore be drawn between whether CP *could* deliver its core benefits if it worked perfectly, and whether it *does* when it works less than perfectly – as is of course the case in any programme implementation in the real world. The evidence reviewed below informs the second of these two questions. A recent home office evidence review on community engagement set out the major implementation failures in relation to that broader concept (police community engagement), all of which are applicable to CP. Below we reproduce these failures, excerpted from that review (Myhill 2006; and see also Allen 2002; Cheurprakobit 2002):

- Organisational commitment and culture change – evidence suggests that the police service is still some way from accepting certain aspects of ‘community engagement philosophy’.
- Mainstreaming – community engagement has to be part of core work, not confined to specialist teams or one-off programmes.
- Sharing power with communities – engagement is not something to be done ‘to’ communities; they must participate in planning and choosing approaches and feel equal ownership of the process.
- Tailoring and local flexibility – there is no ‘one size fits all’ approach; decision-making needs to be devolved to neighbourhoods to allow beat officers flexibility in tailoring approaches.
- Performance management – key performance indicators need to reward effective community engagement, at both national and local levels.
- Training and capacity building – both the police and communities need to have a clearly defined role and be given the skills and resources to carry it out.
- Confidence and trust – the police should not underestimate the effect of previous poor relations, especially with minority communities.

- Communication – partnerships must involve two-way dialogue and good quality information and feedback; the police must value community input.
- Partnership working – the police alone cannot tackle ‘quality of life issues’ that arise during problem-solving activity.
- Resources – these are likely to be required for training and capacity building but may be generated through reallocation, from partners, or by greater use of auxiliaries and volunteers.

Increased public satisfaction with the police

This is the area where CP has most consistently scored highly in evaluations. Unlike many of the other areas below, where the evidence is often weakly supportive of the proposition, the public seem to show a great deal of support for CP, and its implementation has been seen to improve police-community relations. Studies vary in their findings as to the level of increase in public satisfaction, from modest improvements (Kerley and Benson 2000) to significant gains (Cordner 2000). The NRPP evaluation, for example, saw a 15% rise in public confidence that the police were doing a good or excellent job, compared to a 3% increase in the control sites (Tuffin et al. 2006). The CAPS data showed a sustained rise in public confidence across all ethnic groups, but this did not eliminate the greater levels of satisfaction Whites had with the police than African-Americans and Latinos (Skogan 2006). There is data from some studies to support the contention that it is visible police presence rather than the quality of resident-police interaction that drives satisfaction with the police and confidence in officer effectiveness; ‘residents appeared to be more concerned with having the police patrol their neighbourhood than they were with interacting with them’ (Hawdon and Ryan 2003).

Decreased levels of fear of crime and disorder, and increased perceptions of quality of life, have been found to be significant predictors of public satisfaction with the police (Xu et al. 2005). Insofar as CP can deliver these outcomes (and the review below suggests that at least in some measure it can), a positive effect of its engagement with local crime and disorder will be a more satisfied public. Xu et al in their US study found disorder to be a stronger producer of fear in communities than crime; a finding which fits with many of the suggestions of the British literature on signal crimes and signal disorders (Innes 2004b, 2005, 2007; Innes and Jones 2006). If CP can engage more effectively than other policing strategies with sub-criminal problems of disorder, or ASB in the UK language, it should be able to reap the benefits of increased public satisfaction with the police consequent upon lower levels of disorder-related fear.

Decreased fear of crime

Conventional wisdom is that reductions in fear of crime are one of CP's most likely 'wins'. It is interesting therefore to note that while the evidence does point to this as a defensible claim made by CP, reductions in fear of crime, and increases in feelings of safety, range in the evaluation data from the impressive to the patchy. While some evaluations have only found small decreases in fear of crime (Tuffin et al. 2006), and even then sometimes only in some of their experimental areas (Sadd and Grinc 1994; Kerley and Benson 2000), the strongest evidence for the fear-reducing capacities of CP comes from the CAPS evaluation – and given the methodological rigour of the studies comprising the evaluation this is good evidence that CP can 'work' in this respect (Skogan 2006). Overall Skogan et al's measure of fear of crime in Chicago fell from 41% feeling 'unsafe or very unsafe' in 1994, to 26% in 2003. Fear in African-Americans and Whites roughly halved during this period, while fear among Latinos declined only very slightly. These trends in the fear of crime can be related to simultaneous drops in recorded crime in the neighbourhoods concerned for African-Americans, and Whites. Latinos on the other hand reported a doubling of concern on an index of crime in their area. Taken together these statistics suggest that even where crime is perceived to have risen during the implementation of a CP strategy, as was the case for Latinos, modest reductions may be achieved in the fear of crime.

As well as reducing fear of crime through directly lowering crime and disorder rates, and attending to quality of life issues – both of which as mentioned have been found to be intervening variables mediating the effect of CP on fear of crime (Xu et al. 2005; Roh and Oliver 2005) - CP might reduce fear of crime simply through its 'reassuring' presence. For this to occur, residents would need to know that CP was practiced in their area – in other words, to have some interaction with and knowledge of the form policing took in their neighbourhood. While knowledge of the police's local CP efforts has been found to be associated with lower fear of crime, often the majority of residents do not know enough about the implementation of CP in their neighbourhood to benefit from this reassurance (Adams et al. 2005; Mindel et al. 2000). Recent immigrant communities tend to be the least likely to be aware of CP efforts, due to their lack of connection to networks of community level information which pass on such knowledge, such as by word of mouth (Davis and Miller 2002). However, where citizens perceive high levels of local police-community co-operation, they have been found to make more favourable quality-of-life judgements, reporting that they perceive lower levels of local disorder and feel safer than residents who do not have such perceptions of healthy collaborative relations between citizens and the police (Reisig and Parks 2004a, b).

Reductions in levels of crime and disorder

CP has been seen to reduce both crime and disorder, although there is stronger evidence for its effectiveness in reducing disorder than crime. The positive results in relation to the reduction of disorder have been suggested to be related to two strands of the CP approach in particular: foot patrol and problem solving (Cordner 2000). The NRPP evaluation in England and Wales found that the programme had reduced perceptions of anti-social behaviour on several of the indicators used to measure that phenomenon. Evaluations of the CAPS programme reported that disorder had been reduced by the programme in those neighbourhoods which were mainly African-American. The predominantly White neighbourhoods already had relatively low levels of disorder, so any effect of CP was muted. The predominantly Latino neighbourhoods, which suffered similarly high levels of disorder to the African-American neighbourhoods, did not benefit from such great reductions in levels of disorder as a result of CAPS.

Reductions in crime rates seem harder to achieve than reductions in levels of disorder using CP. Evaluations of particular CP programmes have tended to find reductions in crime (usually measured by victimisation surveys) in some, but not all, of the areas studied. For example, a Queensland, Australia evaluation found decreases in reported crime in some of the beats studied, but no associated reduction in public perceptions of these levels of crime, or increases in feelings of personal safety or public willingness to report crime (Mazerolle et al. 2003).

The CAPS strategy found mixed success in crime reduction: 'police did best countering gang and drug problems, street crime, and burglary and, overall, they succeeded (compared to trends in matched comparison districts) in significantly reducing about half of the public's high-priority problems' (Skogan and Hartnett 1997). Under-representation of Latinos and younger adults at beat meetings lowered the profile of crimes like burglary and street crime at those meetings, 'however the meetings did a good job mirroring community concern about gangs, drugs, and disorder' (Skogan 2006: 314).

Increased community engagement

The theoretical assertion here is that where the police can encourage communities to play a role in 'policing' their own local crime problems, the processes of informal social control which arise out of these community-level engagements with problems will play a key role in suppressing crime and disorder. These informal processes of greater community engagement can manifest in a number of different ways, from collective efficacy at one end of the spectrum to simple attendance at beat meetings at the other. It is hard to measure modes and levels of community 'engagement', and many of the evaluations which constitute the CP evidence base have not been set up with this type of measure as part of their objectives. Myhill (2006) concludes that community 'capacity', as he calls it, is an evidence gap for CP. This may be quite an optimistic view

of the literature, tending to assume that where there is no evidence due to lack of measurement, community capacity or engagement may be present but undetected. In fact, while measures of attendance at beat or community meetings are available, studies such as the NRPP evaluation have found no programme impact on indicators at the more 'active' end of the spectrum such as collective efficacy or volunteering. As many commentators have been at pains to point out, even attendance at beat meetings is not an unproblematic output of CP programmes given the possibility of attendance at meetings being skewed towards the 'usual suspects' rather than minority or disadvantaged populations for whom gains in collective efficacy would be the most useful, or young people (Fyfe 1992; Edwards 1997; Herbert 2006; Bull and Stratta 1995; Myhill et al. 2003; Forman 2004). A recent study in Portland, Oregon, even concluded that police attendance at beat meetings was negatively correlated with levels of neighbourhood informal social control, suggesting 'that a community policing style may not be enough to overcome deeply entrenched attitudes toward the police in the most disadvantaged communities and, at worst, may discourage informal social control' (Renauer 2007).

Overall therefore, the 'community building' (Mastrofski et al. 1995) or more critically, 'community implant' (Rosenbaum 1987), hypothesis whereby CP has been thought to have the capacity to increase levels of informal social control, solidarity, social interaction, community organisation, cohesion or co-operative security in neighbourhood settings, has found no strong empirical support when tested (Skogan 1990; Kerley and Benson 2000; Lombardo and Lough 2007). A promising link was found between levels of community satisfaction with the police and informal social control in a Chicago study, which found a significant relationship between neighbourhood satisfaction with the police and levels of local informal social control, suggesting that the former was a cause of the latter (Silver and Miller 2004). However, given that the NRPP evaluation found significant increases in public satisfaction with the police but no significant changes in levels of informal social control, the evidence here seems to be mixed at best. Fielding has suggested that CP needs to resist an unreflective acceptance of approaches based on 'community building and outreach' and maintain a focus on crime control (Fielding 2001).

Community engagement with police through CP initiatives has been thought to occur more easily in communities which are already organised to some degree, and therefore not most in need of the cohesion or activation-inducing potential within the CP philosophy (Walker 1999: 190). However, diluting this view somewhat, the CAPS evaluation did not find as much evidence that 'the wrong people' turned up to beat meetings as might have been expected. 'Those who showed up at the meetings adequately represented their neighbours on many dimensions' (Skogan 2006: 309). Where evidence was found of an 'establishment' view prevailing through biases in consistency of attendance, the small size of the areas represented by the CAPS beat meetings meant that this was not 'some nonlocal elite faction: they lived down the

street' (Skogan 2006: 310) and therefore were reasonably good barometers of locally-felt crime issues. Contrary to initial concerns about beat meetings receiving good attendance only in affluent areas, Skogan et al found that attendance rates were highest in the poorest, most disorganised parts of the city. These were predominantly African-American beats. This is explained by the fact that the strongest correlate of meeting attendance was local violent crime, and that those who attended meetings were more concerned than their non-attending neighbours on almost every measure of crime. The high attendance in African-American areas was not, however, replicated in similarly disenfranchised Latino beats, where attendance rates fell in between the highs of the African-American beats and the lows of the predominantly White beats. Latinos were the least likely group to be aware of CAPS and opportunities to participate.

The NRPP evaluation suggested that implementing a variety of strategies to encourage citizen participation in the processes of CP was more effective than relying only on one method of engagement, for example public meetings. Although the programme achieved positive results in relation to public confidence in the police, feelings of safety, problem solving, and police visibility, it had no effect on calls for service or 'social capacity', i.e. willingness of neighbours to intervene or increased voluntary activity (Tuffin et al. 2006). This finding provides two major issues for CP – the first that it does not seem in any immediate way to create vibrant and active communities characterised by collective efficacy or informal social control in the way the theory hoped it would; and the second that it apparently does not, at least in the short term (cf. Mazerolle et al. 2003), decrease or appropriate the resource burden currently felt by the police in dealing with calls for service through its response mode. It is also premised on a conception of neighbourhood or community which does not give much guidance as to how CP might engage with problems in areas that are not conventional communities, such as inner cities with a diverse and transitory public, in some cases only passing through the area for consumer or leisure purposes (Punch et al. 2002).

Changing police officers' levels of engagement with and satisfaction with the job, and/or other measures of officers' attitudes and behaviour

Evidence for improvements in respect of police officers' attitudes themselves, as opposed to positive effects on the public or on crime and safety measures, is mixed. Positive effects of CP that have been found include: 'increases in job satisfaction and motivation, a broadening of the police role, improvements in relationships with co-workers and citizens, and greater expectations regarding community participation in crime prevention efforts' (Lurigio and Rosenbaum 1994). Against these positive changes weighs evidence of officers who 'resist changing their behaviour for a variety of reasons – including opposition to the principles of community policing, organisational culture, or habit' (Myhill 2006: 22). Once again, the best explanation for these different findings seems to be found in the different contexts within which programmes are locally

implemented. Such are these contextual differences that it is not possible to equate CP with improved officer satisfaction/attitudes/behaviour – rather one must look to any given police department or programme in order to understand the particular features of any given CP roll-out which seem to have lent themselves to positive outcomes on these measures (Lord and Friday 2008). Closer examination of the differential CP experience for officers in different police departments can be used to produce some general suggestions as to correlates of positive effects on the officers themselves, such as:

- Participatory management (what has sometimes been called devolution of power or decision-making): in essence, empowering beat officers to make decisions or be included in the processes by which decisions are made (Wycoff 1988; Wycoff and Skogan 1993; Brody et al. 2002; Adams et al. 2002).
- ‘Job autonomy, but with management support and feedback’ (Lord and Friday 2008, citing; Wilson and Bennett 1994; Rosenbaum et al. 1994; Mastrofski et al. 1998; Brody et al. 2002; Ford et al. 2003; Pelfrey 2004).
- ‘Community support and working closely with citizens to solve problems’ (Lord and Friday 2008, citing; Wilson and Bennett 1994; Brody et al. 2002).
- Adequate training in CP and methods of problem-solving (Wilson and Bennett 1994; Schafer 2002; Brody et al. 2002; Adams et al. 2002; Cordner and Biebel 2005).

While we group all these factors together here as being associated with ‘positive outcomes’ for officers, it should also be apparent that they represent only a sample of the possible positive outcomes. These include confidence in the crime preventing or reducing capacity of CP, confidence in some or all of the other possible benefits of CP (e.g. the benefits of increased police-community collaboration), general job satisfaction, and rating one’s department as being involved in worthwhile change. As well as contextual differences in the types of CP being evaluated – sometimes subtle and sometimes not – there are also a range of differences in the positive or negative changes in officer attitudes, values, behaviours and satisfaction, all of which in combination make the charting of CP effects on officers a rich research endeavour.

For example, Lord and Friday’s recent study of the effects of the roll-out of a CP programme in Concord, North Carolina, found the programme to be rather negatively evaluated by the officers themselves (Lord and Friday 2008). Officers thought that the new focus on district areas led police assigned to these areas to lose a city-wide understanding of (and intervention in) crime problems, and to detract from the previous levels of communication and camaraderie they had enjoyed with other officers when they were all policing the whole city; they now felt isolated. Officers felt they had less opportunity to participate in departmental decision making under the CP programme and while they met more with businesses and local organisations, they felt their levels of

citizen contact were less than before. We can see that many of these 'failures' are localised effects of a poorly implemented programme, and rather than conclude that in this case CP did not have a positive effect on officer satisfaction it would appear more correct to observe that the programme did not realise many of the other goals of CP and in such an instance there is no reason to assume it would achieve positive outcomes in respect of officer attitudes. This interpretation of the findings is supported by other evidence which has found that – in the right implementation context – confidence in and support for CP practices can be high among community officers. Pelfrey found CP to be generally supported by community officers, whereas the rest of the force were less supportive of CP and preferred motorised patrols and response-oriented methods (Pelfrey 2007). Pelfrey uses this evidence to support the recommendation that all officers be rotated through CP assignments, to expose them to working knowledge of the method and its benefits. This fits with calls, such as Skogan's, for CP to be implemented by way of 'whole organisation' change rather than specialist units (Skogan 2006), as well as other less clear-cut findings which have suggested that while all officers support CP, those with experience of CP support it more (Adams et al. 2002).

The Queensland evaluation found that officers felt considerable job satisfaction and organisational support (Mazerolle et al. 2003). As well as the organisational aspect of CP reform, which is clearly highly important, there is also a suggestion that some officers may be better suited to CP than others (Rosenbaum and Wilkinson 2004). While this may well be true on the individual level for people coming into CP programmes, the more interesting question is whether, for other officers who are not initially impressed with the idea of CP, exposure to CP results in an increasing commitment to the model over time. Rosenbaum and Wilkinson's data weighs against the optimism of studies such as Pelfrey and Adams, mentioned above, suggesting the effects of CP in this respect may be limited, despite considerable organisational commitment and reform.

Unintended and/or adverse consequences of CP

The apparent popularity of high visibility policing with members of the public may sometimes set itself against the capacity of more visible policing to stigmatise an area as being a high-crime neighbourhood and therefore dangerous or otherwise unappealing. Despite survey responses suggesting that the public want more, and more visible, police, some commentators have suggested that acceding to these requests may not in fact reassure people in practice, but might intensify feelings of being unsafe by drawing attention to the apparently problematic character of the neighbourhood in question. Thus, CP may 'serve to exacerbate residents' fears and solidify lines of difference within and between local communities' (Crawford et al. 2003: 47), especially if it is undertaken as a superficial response to public demand for more visible policing, rather than aimed at seriously engaging with the social-structural issues which are the

drivers of local crime and disorder problems. As we have seen above, perhaps most notably in the case of CAPS, CP does have the capacity to address and solve a significant proportion of these local problems – but it is equally possible to claim to be ‘doing CP’ without this level of dedication to problem-solving.

Additionally, there is a risk that CP can become a vehicle for the practical implementation of local punitive attitudes against marginalised or minority groups. Again, this is an example of where CP becomes problematic when it moves away from a genuine problem-solving ethos and towards pseudo-problem-solving through simply appeasing public appetites for enforcement that may function as unduly exclusionary (Moore and Scourfield 2005; Moore 2008).

Further, the supposition that freeing up officers’ time to allow them to patrol communities will somehow automatically translate into more ‘on the ground’ community-level problem solving seems to be unduly optimistic. An Australian study of how beat officers spend their unassigned time (i.e. the majority of their time, which is spent other than responding to directives from superior officers) found that this time was often used rather unproductively, either on self-initiated patrol or backing up other officers on calls which were not their responsibility. Better direction from above, in terms of orientation towards active problem-oriented policing rather than undirected patrol and support functions, is suggested to be an essential part of effective CP (Famega et al. 2005).

Finally, such has been the popularity of CP as an Anglo-American policy export that there is an unusually large amount of comparative literature on the topic. This generally supports the proposition that the success of CP depends upon its fit with, and sensitivity to, the local context in which it is implemented, and particularly the cultural norms and security aspirations of local citizens (Brogden and Nijhar 2005; Davis et al. 2003; Beck 2004). A review of research from Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark suggests that CP – or ‘proximity policing’ as it is known in Denmark – has failed to embed itself there due to ‘the high level of perceived safety already present in the Nordic countries, the lack of causal relations between police visibility and citizens’ perception of safety, and the lack of tradition for citizen involvement’ (Holmberg 2004). French CP has been counterposed to the US model(s) in that the former is less about ‘problem-solving practices designed to provide a more effective enforcement response’ and more about aiming ‘to re-establish the legitimacy of the rule of law through state proximity’ (Wyvekens 2003).

Part 6: The future of community policing in Scotland

The evidence review undertaken here, combined with the brief historical and comparative review of the development of CP in Scotland, suggests that an appropriate conclusion to this report would look to the future of CP in Scotland and consider how the evidence suggests CP might most usefully develop as part of our approach to policing. It is clear that there are practical challenges to implementing CP, in Scotland's forces as elsewhere. It is also clear that across the eight forces we see quite different approaches to the implementation of CP. Some of these differences reflect different levels of support for this mode of policing, including forces that appear to see it as having the potential to drive their core business, and those keen to implement the effective delivery of CP by way of teams of community-facing officers, but not by way of whole-agency change.

Given these different approaches to CP across Scotland, what we aim to do in this conclusion is provide a basic roadmap which identifies the key challenges to implementing CP, in summary of many of the points already raised above, and then sets out the basic structure of some useful evaluation and other research which would support the surmounting of these practical and theoretical challenges on an evidence-led basis. HMIC has been clear that substantially more research is needed in Scotland to support policy and practitioner thinking about CP, and without being prescriptive or exhaustive as to the form that research can take, we suggest here some useful ways in which researchers might answer this call.

Key challenges in implementing CP

For analytical purposes we can divide the key challenges into 'practical' and 'theoretical' challenges. The practical challenges of implementing CP have already been presented above in our excerpt of Myhill's list of common CP implementation failures. We therefore outline here a selection of the most relevant theoretical challenges for the development of CP in the Scottish case. A theoretical challenge in this context does not mean one which is uncertain or less important than a practical challenge – rather it suggests a problem or tension concerned with one or more of the conceptual aspects of CP, which may be highly salient in practical terms if it leads to the development and implementation of strategies which have ignored or misunderstood the nuances of the policing philosophy underpinning practice.

Community engagement, activation, empowerment, etc: There are a range of terms which refer to the level of involvement the community can or should have in various law enforcement initiatives and activities, including in CP. There appear to be differences of opinion in Scotland across forces, across divisions, and indeed between officers within forces and divisions, as to the level of community engagement on which a CP strategy

should operate. This is of fundamental importance, since the level and type of community engagement is suggested by most theories of CP to be a defining feature of the concept – indeed a goal which can be measured by way of appropriately designed key performance indicators, along with community-level outcomes such as improvements in quality of life and the satisfactory resolution of problems identified through effective police-community communication (Alpert et al. 2001). Myhill presents a useful typology for community engagement for policing (Myhill 2006: 7). This runs (from minimal engagement to the ideal) through the following stages:

- Information/reassurance
- Monitoring/accountability
- Strategic consultation
- Partnership/co-operation
- Empowerment/co-production

In the highest (empowerment/co-production) stages, we find ‘public-initiated, police-supported problem-solving initiatives’ where ‘citizens can take the final decision [on problem definition and strategy for tackling it] unless there is clear justification preventing this’ (Myhill 2006: 7). Research would be needed to ascertain in a systematic fashion to what extent this empowerment ideal is met by the various approaches to CP across Scotland, but we suggest the dilution of the police’s traditional decision-making powers would mean it runs contrary to many ingrained police assumptions (Fielding 2001) and is unlikely to be widely identified in practice, if at all. More common would seem to be the ‘strategic consultation’ of community groups (i.e. the third level) through neighbourhood meetings and other such activities. The CAPS evaluation has shown that the police need to be entirely committed to fostering full community engagement, and inventive and persistent in their attempts to include all sectors of the community. In 2002, two of the CAPS researchers summarised the four key lessons learned from the evaluation of the programme:

(1) community support must be won; (2) effective community involvement depends on an organized community; (3) training is as critical for the community as it is for the police; and (4) there is a real risk of inequitable outcomes. The best-off elements of the community will take to community policing pretty naturally, but those who really need it may be last to come on board if they come on at all (DuBois and Hartnett 2002).

Partnership working: To what extent does CP depart from traditional impressions of ‘policing’? Chicago-style strategies appear to require that the police begin to see themselves as one node in a wider network of public-sector problem solvers. This gives rise to a practical question involving whether the police can establish effective working relationships with public and private sector partners to deliver the solutions that

communities need. This has been problematic elsewhere, where police contact with other agencies has been found to be episodic, and these other agencies have sometimes been reluctant to work with the police (Greene 2004) – and where they have, there have been value conflicts driven by the different cultures and perceived missions of the various collaborators (Thacher 2001). Behind this practical question, however, there remains a theoretical question about the extent to which CP requires radical review of the police's understanding of policing, and their being prepared to accept or even embrace a move away from the traditional status of the police as front-line enforcers, with the associated status and machismo that role involves. Such are the range of theoretical positions on CP that the role of law enforcement in a CP strategy can be difficult to identify, and this allows a number of 'CP-lookalike' activities to be undertaken (visible/foot patrol, community meetings) within a strategy that has not fundamentally bought into the ideals of CP.

Problem solving: Following the above point about partnership working, there is some theoretical effort required to differentiate CP from problem-oriented policing (POP). This is largely because problem-solving is such a central part of CP (Peak and Glensor 2002; DuBois and Hartnett 2002; Rahtz 2001). It has been argued that when CP colonises POP in this way, it reduces the effectiveness of POP since it binds the resolution of problems to the neighbourhood level at which CP operates. Some crime and disorder problems may not be best tackled at the neighbourhood level and therefore reinstating some theoretical distance between CP and POP might be necessary to avoid the increasingly common presumption by practitioners that they are basically the same thing and that community-level focus is always the right lens through which to gather information and address a problem (Tilley 2004; Van den Broeck 2002). Among the variants of this type of critique is the wider etiological approach to crime and deviance - while CP may be able to solve 'problems' at a local level, those problems are not likely to be the background social drivers of criminality, including 'the fundamental problems of poverty, racism, illiteracy, and family disruption' (Bohm et al. 2000).

Response: CP is often outlined as a reaction against, or at least alternative to, 'fire-brigade' or response policing. One of the difficulties in implementing a CP strategy is that there seems to be a sometimes significant time-lag between implementation and the point at which the CP begins to achieve a reduction in the number of calls for service from the public. Different mechanisms tend to be employed in order to bridge this gap, from maintaining numbers in response teams to allocating certain (or in some cases all) of the calls for service to the local CP officers. There is therefore another theoretical tension here – to what extent does CP involve a move away from response policing, or alternatively to what extent does it simply change the nature of that response? Across Scotland there will be differences of opinion on this question, and the extent to which these differences can be accommodated within a broad commitment to CP needs further theoretical development and empirical research.

Evaluation

It is clear that many of the research needs outlined above do not require the application of evaluation techniques; rather they require a range of methods sensitive to capturing local differences in perspective and the development of a comparative approach to these differences across Scotland, framed in terms of an overarching conceptual approach to CP. What is also needed, however, is a programme of independent process and outcome evaluation which seeks to record and analyse the measurable effects of the variety of CP approaches currently in practice, and in development, throughout Scotland.

How can we overcome the evaluation problems stated above relating to the diversity of practices implemented in the name of CP? These problems can already be seen to be evident in Scotland, where different forces have approached the implementation of CP with different practical measures. In order to compare these practices we would need to decide on a reasonably systematic and standardised framework against which to measure the performance of the various Scottish approaches to implementing CP (i.e. a standard measure of 'whether it works' which would include a range of indicators including the factors outlined in our review of the evidence above – crime and disorder rates, public confidence in or satisfaction with the police, fear of crime, community engagement, and police attitudes and behaviour). We would also need to agree on a theoretical model of CP to apply to the various practices on the ground, to enable us to say whether what works is actually consistent with that CP model or not (i.e. 'if it works, is it CP?').

In relation to the first question – an evaluation framework – a three-fold structure has been proposed by Eck and Rosenbaum: effectiveness, equity and efficiency (Eck and Rosenbaum 1994). They suggest that developing measurements on these three dimensions of CP would enable local practices to be compared against each other, and against other models of policing which could similarly be evaluated on these terms. More prescriptive evaluation survey designs have also been developed (Mindel et al. 2000; Mckee 2001; Tuffin et al. 2006), and a best practice evaluation framework could be designed which drew on the strengths of these models under the general guidance of the framework outlined by Eck and Rosenbaum.

In relation to the second question, several models of CP present themselves as contenders for paradigm statements of the composition of the concept in practice. Fielding's model incorporates a sensitivity to evaluation research and so is especially appropriate if evaluation is the goal (Fielding 2005). Our own outline undertaken above of the common points of reference across the various frameworks we reviewed could be expanded upon by way of a more comprehensive review devoted to that end. And of

course The Scottish Government's 2009 *Engagement Principles*, mentioned above, are also a useful reference point here.

Once an evaluation framework has been agreed, and tied into a conceptual agreement as to what CP means in the Scottish context, the platform would be set for evaluations which were informed by the common understanding of CP that seems to be so difficult to find in current policing practice, in Scotland as elsewhere. This does not imply that a 'one size fits all' model is necessary, or perhaps even desirable, but it does suggest that where certain local practices claim to be part of 'doing CP' we need an objective way to adjudicate this claim, and assess the merits of the practices themselves in terms of their effects. There are undoubtedly many different strategies and tactics involved in doing CP effectively, and it is of the essence of the concept that these are flexible enough to be sensitive to local context – we would expect, therefore, to see differences across police divisions and forces in Scotland. What is required is to identify which of these practices are beneficial and in which contexts, in order to take the debate on CP in Scotland forward on an empirical footing that can claim to have taken local and national context into account rather than relying on a UK and international evidence base which has hitherto largely ignored Scottish communities.

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